

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS

ARISE FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE;
WOISTE?; NEW ENGLAND STATE-AREA
CONFERENCE OF THE NAACP;
REV. TALBERT W. SWAN, II;
NORMAN W. OLIVER; DARLENE
ANDERSON; GUMERSINDO GOMEZ;
FRANK BUNTIN; RAFAEL RODRIQUEZ;
and DIANA NURSE

Plaintiffs,

v.

CITY OF SPRINGFIELD and SPRINGFIELD
ELECTION COMMISSION,

Defendants.

Civil Action No. 05-30080 MAP

AFFIDAVIT OF RICHARD L. ENGSTROM, Ph.D

AFFIDAVIT
by
RICHARD L. ENGSTROM, Ph.D.

Arise for Social Justice, et al v. City of Springfield and Springfield Election Commission
C.A. 05-30080-MAP

I declare the following:

1. My name is Richard L. Engstrom and I am a resident of New Orleans, Louisiana. I am a Research Professor of Political Science and Coordinator of Graduate Studies in the Department of Political Science at the University of New Orleans (UNO), and the Endowed Professor of Africana Studies at UNO. I have served two terms as the Chairperson of the Representation and Electoral Systems Section of the American Political Science Association (1993-1995, 1995-1997) and continue to serve as a member of the Executive Council for that section. A copy of my curriculum vitae is attached as an Appendix to this affidavit.

2. I have done extensive research into the relationship between election systems and the ability of minority voters to participate fully in the political process and to elect representatives of their choice. The results of my research have been published in the *American Political Science Review*, *Journal of Politics*, *Western Political Quarterly*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Social Science Quarterly*, *Journal of Law and Politics*, *Electoral Studies*, and other journals and books. Three articles authored or co-authored by me were cited with approval in Thornburg v. Gingles, 478 U.S. 30, at 46 n.11, 49 n.15, 53 n.20, 55, and 71 (1986), the Supreme Court decision interpreting amended section 2 of the Voting Rights Act. I am a co-author, with Mark A. Rush, of *Fair and*

Effective Representation ? Debating Electoral Reform and Minority Rights (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 2001).

3. I have also testified as an expert witness in numerous court cases in federal and state courts across the United States. Since 2001 I have testified at trial and/or been deposed in the following cases: Johnson v. Hamrick (N.D. Ga. 2001), Del Rio v. Perry (200th Dist. Ct. Tx. 2001), Balderas v. State of Texas (E.D. Tx 2001), Johnson v. Bush (S.D. Flida 2001), Jepsen v. Vigil-Giron (1st Judicial District Court, County of Santa Fe, NM 2001, 2002), Arizona Minority Coalition for Fair Redistricting v. Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission (Superior Court, County of Maricopa, AZ, 2002), Curry v. Glendening, Court of Appeals of Maryland (2002), Levy v. Miami-Dade Co (S.D. Flida. 2002), Dillard v. Baldwin Co. (M.D. Ala. 2002), Prejean v. Foster (M.D. La. 2002), Georgia v. Ashcroft (D.C. DC, 2002), Louisiana House of Representatives v. Ashcroft (D.C. DC 2002), United States v. Alamosa County (D. Co. 2003), Black Political Task Force v. Galvin and Camacho v. Galvin (D.C. Mass. 2003), Stewart v. Blackwell (N.D. Oh. 2004), Cottier v. City of Martin, S.D., (D.C. SD 2004), and Pender County v. Bartlett (General Court of Justice, Superior Court Division, County of Wake, NC 2005).

4. Attorneys for the plaintiffs in this case have asked me to analyze the extent to which the candidate preferences of African American, Latino, and other voters in Springfield, Massachusetts,¹ have differed in their candidate choices in the recent at-large

¹ Unless otherwise stated, in this affidavit "African Americans" are people identified in the 2000 Census of Population as only African American in race and not Hispanic. African Americans, so defined, constitute 18.1 percent of the city's voting age population. "Latinos" are those that are identified as Hispanic, regardless of race. Latinos, so defined, constitute 21.8 percent of the city's voting age population. (Over 85 percent of the total population of Latinos is Puerto Rican, and therefore citizens of the United States.) "Others" are those that fit neither of the first two categories, and these people are predominantly white. Those identified as only white in race and not Hispanic constitute 93.5 percent of the "others" of

elections for the city council and the school committee. These elections were held in 1999, 2001, and 2003, and all of them presented voters with a choice among African American and/or Latino candidates and other candidates.

5. I am being compensated at a rate of \$225 an hour for my work in this case.

DATA AND METHODS

6. The data utilized in the analyses of the candidate preferences of African American, Latino, and other voters consist of the number of people receiving ballots in each precinct and the number of votes in the precincts cast for each of the various candidates, according to official election returns, and the total number of people of voting age, as well as the number of African Americans and Latinos in each precinct according to the 2000 census.

7. In assessing the extent to which the candidate preferences of the African American and Latino voters differed from those of the other voters in these elections I have derived estimates of group support for candidates through ecological regression analysis. This procedure, which employs data for all of the precincts, is one of the two estimation procedures approved for this purpose by the United States Supreme Court in Thornburg v. Gingles [478 U.S. 30, at 52-53 (1986)].² The other is homogeneous precinct, or extreme case, analysis, which can only be used to estimate the preferences of the other (essentially white) voters in Springfield. Homogeneous precinct analyses simply report the percentage of the voters supporting a candidate or set of candidates

voting age in Springfield, and therefore this group will be identified as hereinafter as white. United States Census of Population, 2000, Summary File 1(SF 1).

² Correlation coefficients that result from the three group analysis are partial correlations that do not have the same straightforward interpretation as the correlation coefficients that result from analyses concerning only two groups, and therefore are not reported in this analysis.

within the precincts in which a particular group constitutes over 90 percent of the voting age population. There are no such African American or Latino precincts in Springfield and therefore this procedure cannot be used to estimate the candidate preferences of those groups. There are six precincts however in which other voters constitute over 90 percent of the voting age population, and the levels of support for the various candidates in these essentially white precincts will be reported.³

RACIALLY POLARIZED VOTING

8. The candidate preferences of Springfield voters in the elections in which they have been presented with a choice between or among African American, Latino, and/or white candidates have been consistently divided along racial and ethnic group lines. African American voters demonstrate, through their voting behavior, a preference for African American candidates, and Latinos likewise demonstrate a preference for Latino candidates. These preferences are not shared by the white voters, however, and their lack of support for these minority candidates usually results in the white voters vetoing these choices. The results of the analyses of these elections are reported in Tables 1 through 6.

City Council Elections

9. The Springfield city council consists of nine members elected every two years in nonpartisan at-large elections. Voters have up to nine votes to cast in each election, but are restricted to casting only one vote for any candidate. The nine candidates with the highest numbers of total votes are declared the winning candidates.

³ Another procedure that I often use to estimate group differences in candidate preferences is called Ecological Inference, or EI, which was developed subsequent to Thornburg v. Gingles. This procedure is the subject of Gary King, A Solution to the Ecological Inference Problem: Reconstructing Individual Behavior from Aggregate Data (Princeton University Press, 1997)]. EI is not applied in this analysis, however, because it is not, at least as of yet, applicable to analyses involving more than two groups of voters, as is the case in this analysis of Springfield elections.

10. Tables 1 through 3 contain the results of the analyses for city council elections. African American and Latino candidates in these elections are identified by bold type, and the rank order of the candidates, in terms of overall votes, are reported after their names. The support levels for the various candidates within the various groups reflect the estimate of the percent of members of that group that received a ballot that cast a vote for that candidate. When the support level among African American voters or Latino voters is statistically significantly different from that for the white voters, an asterisk (*) is placed next to that estimate.⁴

1999

11. In 1999 two African Americans were among a field of 14 candidates for the nine seats on the council. No Latino sought a seat on the council in this election. The African American candidates were Bud L. Williams, a three-term incumbent, and Carol Lewis-Caulton. The regression analysis reveals that African American voters were strongly cohesive in their support for these African American candidates (Table 1). Ms. Lewis-Caulton finished first in the vote cast by African American voters, receiving a vote from virtually all of the African American voters. Mr. Williams finished second in the African American vote, receiving a vote from an estimated 93.3 percent of them.

12. Mr. Williams received a vote from an estimated 43.1 percent of the Latino voters, while Ms. Lewis-Caulton received a vote from an estimated 10.5 percent. They ranked seventh and fourteenth within the Latino vote. Mr. Williams was the tenth choice of the white voters, receiving an estimated 38.7 percent, and Ms. Lewis-Caulton received a vote from an estimated 30.2 percent, finishing fourteenth among white voters. (Mr.

⁴ Statistical significance is based on a t-test for the regression coefficient for the respective group, and statistical significance is assessed by the conventional standard of .05, meaning the probability of the

Williams finished ninth in the homogeneous white precincts with a vote from 40.1 percent, while Ms. Lewis-Caulton finished eleventh with a vote from 32.9). White candidates were the top nine choices of the white voters according to the regression analysis (and the top eight choices in the homogeneous precinct analysis). Mr. Williams finished sixth overall, while Ms. Lewis-Caulton won the ninth seat on the council by a margin of 21 votes.

2001

13. In 2001 four African Americans and two Latinos were among another field of 14 candidates. Mr. Williams and Ms. Lewis-Caulton were among the African American candidates, along with Charles Rucks and Charles Stokes. The Latino candidates were Jose F. Tosado and Alex Cortes.

14. The regression analysis reveals that African American voters were again strongly cohesive in their support for African American candidates (Table 2). The four African American candidates were the top four choices of the African American voters. Mr. Williams finished first among the African American voters, receiving a vote from an estimated 98.5 percent of them. Ms. Lewis-Caulton finished second with a vote from an estimated 95.2 percent of the African American voters. Mr. Rucks and Mr. Stokes finished third and fourth respectively among the African American voters, receiving a vote from an estimated 75.3 percent and 43.7 percent of the African American voters.

15. Among the African American candidates only Mr. Williams won a seat on the council in this election. He finished seventh among the Latino voters, receiving a vote from an estimated 23.0 percent of them, and ninth among the white voters, receiving a

difference between the two groups being attributable to chance is less than 5 in 100.

vote from an estimated 48.6 percent of them. (In the homogeneous white precincts he also finished ninth with a vote from 47.8 percent.) He finished third in the overall vote.

16. Ms. Lewis-Caulton was not returned to the council. She finished twelfth among the Latino voters, receiving a vote from an estimated 10.9 percent of them, and tenth among the white voters, receiving a vote from an estimated 38.3 percent. (She finished eleventh in the homogeneous white precincts with a vote from 38.1 percent.) She finished eleventh in the overall vote.

17. Mr. Rucks and Mr. Stokes finished fourteenth and thirteenth respectively within the Latino vote, receiving a vote from an estimated 3.4 percent and 6.7 percent of these voters. They finished twelfth and thirteenth respectively among the white voters, receiving a vote from an estimated 20.7 and 10.1 percent. (They finished twelfth and fourteenth in the homogeneous white precincts, receiving a vote from 24.3 percent and 9.4 percent, respectively.) They finished twelfth and fourteenth overall.

18. Latino voters were cohesive in their support for the Latino candidates. Mr. Tosado finished first within the Latino vote, receiving a vote from an estimated 75.0 percent of the Latino voters, while Mr. Cortes finished second, receiving a vote from an estimated 68.4 percent. Among the African American voters, they finished seventh and fourteenth respectively, receiving a vote from an estimated 29.7 and 6.3 percent. Among the white voters, they finished eleventh and fourteenth, receiving a vote from an estimated 36.2 percent and 8.3 percent, respectively. (In the homogeneous white precincts, they finished eleventh and thirteen, with votes from 36.3 percent and 10.3 percent, respectively.) This left them tenth and thirteenth in the overall vote, and therefore neither won a seat. The eight white candidates in this election were the top

eight choices of the white voters according to the regression analysis (and the homogeneous precinct analysis as well).

2003

19. In 2003 four African Americans and two Latinos were again candidates for the council, but this time there was a total field of 18 candidates. Mr. Williams and Ms. Lewis-Caulton were again among the African American candidates, along with Morris Jones and Hamilton Wray. The Latino candidates were again Mr. Tosado, who was now an incumbent, having been appointed to fill a vacancy on the council earlier that year, and Mr. Cortes.

20. The regression analysis reveals that African American voters were again strongly cohesive in their support for African American candidates (Table 3). African American candidates were their top three choices in this election. Ms. Lewis-Caulton finished first within the African American vote, receiving a vote from an estimated 98.2 percent of them. Mr. Williams finished second with a vote from an estimated 93.8 percent. Mr. Jones was their third choice, receiving a vote from an estimated 67.2 percent. Mr. Wray was the seventh choice of the African Americans, receiving a vote from an estimated 32.0 percent.

21. Mr. Williams was again the only African American candidate to win a seat in this election. He finished sixth among the Latino voters, receiving a vote from an estimated 21.5 percent of them, and eleventh among the white voters, receiving a vote from an estimated 35.8 percent of them. (He also finished eleventh in the homogeneous white precincts, with a vote from 36.6 percent.) He finished seventh in the overall vote. Ms. Lewis-Caulton finished seventeenth among the Latino voters, receiving a vote from

an estimated 4.3 percent of them, and fifteenth among the white voters, receiving a vote from an estimated 38.3 percent. (She finished twelfth in the homogeneous white precincts, receiving a vote from 27.0 percent). She finished twelfth in the overall vote.

22. Mr. Jones finished sixteenth in both the Latino vote and the white vote, receiving a vote from an estimated 12.8 percent and 19.6 percent of these voters respectively. (He also finished sixteenth in the homogeneous white precincts, receiving a vote from 20.2 percent.) He finished thirteenth overall. The other African American candidate, Mr. Wray, finished eighteenth and seventeenth in the Latino vote and the white vote, receiving a vote from an estimated 8.2 percent of the Latino voters and 15.0 percent of the white voters. (He also finished seventeenth in the homogeneous white precincts, with a vote from 18.6 percent.) He finished last overall among the 18 candidates.

23. Latino voters again supported the Latino candidates. Mr. Tosado again finished first within the Latino vote, receiving a vote from an estimated 77.1 percent of the Latino voters, while Mr. Cortes finished second, receiving a vote from an estimated 55.4 percent. Among the African American voters, they finished fourth and fourteenth respectively, receiving a vote from an estimated 44.3 and 9.5 percent respectively. Among the white voters, they finished tenth and last (18th), receiving a vote from an estimated 38.1 percent and 12.7 percent, respectively. (In the homogeneous white precincts, Mr. Tosado also finished tenth with a vote from 39.7 percent, while Mr. Cortes finished last with a vote from 12.8 percent.) Mr. Tosado finished third overall and won a seat, while Mr. Cortes finished seventeenth. The top nine candidates of the white voters

were white candidates according to both the regression analysis and the homogeneous precinct analysis.

24. The candidate preferences in city council elections among the groups analyzed are clearly polarized. There is an unmistakable preference within each group for candidates from within that group. This occurred in each of the three elections. Minority candidates preferred by voters within their group were vetoed by the rest of the electorate in every election except the city council election in 1999. In that election two African Americans were elected. This was not repeated however in the 2001 or the 2003 elections, in which only one African American, a long term incumbent, was able to win a seat. The other African American, who had won the ninth seat in 1999 by a margin of 21 votes, was vetoed in 2001 and again in 2003, despite the extremely high levels of African American support for her. Latinos did not elect a Latino candidate until the most recent election, in 2003, when a Latino that had been appointed to the council earlier that year was elected.

School Committee Elections

25. The Springfield school committee consists of six members elected to four-year terms in staggered elections. Each election is for three seats and the voters in these elections have up to three votes to cast. Voters are again restricted to casting only one vote for any candidate. The three candidates with the highest numbers of total votes are declared the winning candidates. School committee elections are also nonpartisan and at-large, and are held simultaneously with the city council elections. The voters receiving

ballots for the school committee elections are therefore the same voters that receiving ballots in the city council elections.

26. Tables 4 through 6 contain the results of the analyses for school committee elections. These tables are structured identically to Tables 1 through 3. African American and Latino candidates are identified by bold type, and the rank order of the candidates, in terms of overall votes, are reported after their names. The support levels for the various candidates within the various groups also reflect the estimate of the percent of members of that group that received a ballot that cast a vote for that candidate. When the support level among African American voters or Latinos voters is statistically significantly different from that for the white voters, an asterisk (*) is placed next to that estimate. The results of the analyses of the school committee elections reveal polarized voting similar to that in the council elections.

1999

27. In 1999 one African American and one Latino were among a field of five candidates for the three seats on the school committee. The African American candidate was Roger McCollum, a three-term incumbent. The Latino candidate was Jose Tosado. The regression analysis reveals that African American voters were strongly cohesive in their support for Mr. McCollum (Table 4). He was their first choice and received a vote from virtually all of the African American voters. Among Latino voters, however, he was the fourth choice, receiving a vote from an estimated 23.7 percent of them, and he was the last choice of the white voters, receiving a vote from an estimated 29.3 percent of them. (In the homogeneous white precincts he also finished last, receiving a vote from 34.8 percent.) He finished fourth overall and lost his seat on the committee.

28. Mr. Tosado was the first choice of the Latino voters, receiving a vote from an estimated 79.0 percent of them. He was the second choice of the African American voters, receiving a vote from an estimated 29.7 percent of them, and the fourth choice of the white voters, receiving a vote from an estimated 38.2 percent. (He was the third choice in the homogeneous white precincts, receiving a vote from 40.1 percent.) He finished second overall and was elected. The top three choices of the white voters were the three white candidates in the election according to the regression analysis (while the top two were white according to the homogeneous precinct analysis).

2001

29. In 2001 two African Americans were among a field of five candidates for the three seats. No Latino candidate ran for a seat. The African American candidates were Marjorie Hurst and Desiree Parker. The regression analysis reveals that African American voters were again supportive of the African American candidates (Table 5). Ms. Hurst was their first choice, receiving a vote from virtually all of the African American voters. Ms. Parker was their second choice, receiving a vote from an estimated 57.8 percent of them. Among Latino voters, however, Ms. Hurst was the fourth choice, with a vote from an estimated 18.5 percent of them, while Ms. Parker was the last choice, with a vote from 12.4 percent. Ms. Hurst and Mr. Parker were likewise the fourth and fifth choice of the white voters, receiving a vote from an estimated 42.9 percent and 13.0 percent, respectively. (In the homogeneous white precincts they were likewise the fourth and fifth choices, receiving a vote from 43.9 percent and 12.6 percent respectively.) The white voters made the three white candidates their first three choices according to both

the regression and homogeneous precinct analyses. Ms. Hurst finished third and won a seat, while Ms. Parker finished fifth.

2003

30. There was one African American and one Latino candidate among the six candidates seeking seats on the committee in 2003. The African American was Mr. McCollum, the former incumbent, while the Latino candidate was Victor Davila. Mr. McCollum was again the first choice of the African American voters, receiving a vote from an estimated 92.3 percent of them (Table 6). He finished sixth and fifth, however, within the votes cast by Latino and white voters, receiving a vote from an estimated 8.1 of the Latinos receiving ballots and 34.4 percent of the whites. (He was also fifth in the homogeneous white precincts, receiving a vote from 39.0 percent.) Mr. McCollum finished fourth and therefore was again defeated.

31. Mr. Davila was the first preference of the Latino voters, receiving a vote from an estimated 64.8 percent of them. He was the fifth and sixth choices of the African American voters and the white voters however, receiving a vote from an estimated 12.5 percent of the African Americans and 8.6 percent of the whites. (In the homogeneous white precincts he also finished sixth, with a vote from 9.4 percent.) He finished last overall. The white voters made the four white candidates their top four choices in this election according to both the regression and the homogeneous precinct analyses.

32. Voting in the at-large school board elections, which as noticed above are also

nonpartisan and are held simultaneously with the city council elections, also reveals a pronounced tendency for the voters of the respective groups to prefer candidates from within their group.

CONCLUSION

33. Voting in the past three city council elections, and in the simultaneous school committee elections, has been polarized along racial and ethnic group lines. African Americans and Latinos in Springfield, protected groups under the Voting Rights Act, have a pronounced preference to be represented by people from within their group. This was revealed for African Americans in all six elections. It was also revealed for Latinos in all four of the elections in which there were Latino candidates. The white voters in the city, which are predominantly non-Hispanic whites, do not share these preferences. They reveal a distinctly different preference, which is for white candidates in these elections.

34. In only one of the city council elections have two African Americans been elected. This occurred in 1999, when one of the African Americans won the ninth seat by a margin of 21 votes. This was not repeated in 2001 and 2003, however. Indeed, one of the incumbent African American candidates was defeated for reelection in 2001, despite her African American support being estimated at 98.5 percent. She was again denied a seat in the 2003 election, despite her African American support being estimated at 98.2 percent. A Latino candidate did not win a seat until the latest election, in 2003, after being appointed to the council earlier that year. The nine-member council elected at-large in the last election therefore consists of only one African American and one Latino, 22.2 percent of the council, despite these politically cohesive groups constituting about 40 percent of the voting age population in the city.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and that this Affidavit was executed on June 15, 2005 in New Orleans, LA.



Richard L. Engstrom

TABLE 1

Springfield City Council Election 1999

Estimated Divisions in Candidate Preferences

<u>Candidate*</u> <u>Rank</u>		<u>Percent of African</u> <u>American Voters</u>	<u>Percent of</u> <u>Latino Voters</u>	<u>Percent of</u> <u>White Voters</u>
<i>Lewis-Caulton</i>	9	106.4*	10.5*	30.2
<i>Williams</i>	6	93.3*	43.1	38.7
Foley	1	35.2*	57.4*	66.2
Sarno	2	28.4*	48.8*	64.8
T. Ryan	3	13.2*	43.6*	65.6
Kelly	4	13.9*	46.6*	58.9
B. Santaniello	5	34.2*	50.8	52.0
Puppolo	7	15.6*	47.0	51.7
Rooke	8	7.8*	38.9	53.5
J.Ryan	10	10.8*	31.0*	44.4
S. Santaniello	11	26.6*	36.5	38.9
Garde	12	35.9*	29.7	28.7
Branch	13	19.5*	26.7	30.5
Walsh	14	6.3*	12.6*	25.8

* African American candidates in ***bold italicized*** letters.

TABLE 2
Springfield City Council Election 2001
Estimated Divisions in Candidate Preferences

<u>Candidate*</u> <u>Rank</u>		<u>Percent African</u> <u>American Voters</u>	<u>Percent of</u> <u>Latino Voters</u>	<u>Percent of</u> <u>White Voters</u>
<i>Williams</i>	3	98.5*	23.0*	48.6
<i>Lewis-Caulton</i>	11	95.2*	10.9*	38.3
<i>Rucks</i>	12	75.3*	3.4*	20.7
<i>Stokes</i>	14	43.7*	6.7	10.1
Tosado	10	29.7	75.0*	36.2
Cortes	13	6.3	68.4*	8.3
Foley	1	33.8*	26.9*	68.1
Santaniello	2	36.5*	27.8*	64.4
Moriarty	4	22.0*	26.1*	64.4
Rooke	5	17.8*	20.1*	65.6
Puppolo	6	21.0*	23.9*	62.4
Scarno	7	17.2*	18.6*	63.2
Ryan	8	15.9*	16.5*	64.0
Kelly	9	16.9*	15.6*	61.6

* African American candidates in ***bold italicized*** letters.

Hispanic candidates in **bold** letters.

TABLE 3
Springfield City Council Election 2003
Estimated Divisions in Candidate Preferences

<u>Candidate*</u> <u>Rank</u>		<u>Percent of African</u> <u>American Voters</u>	<u>Percent of</u> <u>Latino Voters</u>	<u>Percent of</u> <u>White Voters</u>
<i>Lewis-Caulton</i>	12	98.2*	4.3*	26.0
<i>Williams</i>	7	93.8*	21.5*	35.8
<i>Jones</i>	13	67.2*	12.8*	19.6
<i>Wray</i>	18	32.0*	8.2	15.0
Tosado	3	44.3	77.1*	38.1
Cortes	17	9.5	55.4*	12.7
Foley	1	40.0*	27.0*	59.7
Sarno	2	26.9*	19.3*	62.3
Puppolo	4	22.2*	21.6*	55.8
Moriarty	5	36.9*	27.0*	49.4
Kelly	6	20.7*	13.7*	56.4
Walsh	8	41.2*	16.2*	49.8
Rooke	9	17.8*	16.5*	54.0
Ryan	10	8.8*	17.6*	52.7
Sears	11	9.8*	15.0*	50.7
Santaniello	14	2.0*	16.2*	27.7
Ranacitelli	15	4.7*	18.2	29.4
Cahillane	16	1.4*	13.4*	30.0

*African American candidates in ***bold italicized*** letters.

Hispanic candidates in **bold** letters.

TABLE 4

Springfield School Committee Election 1999

Estimated Divisions in Candidate Preferences

<u>Candidate*</u> <u>Rank</u>		<u>Percent African</u> <u>American Voters</u>	<u>Percent of</u> <u>Latino Voters</u>	<u>Percent of</u> <u>White Voters</u>
<i>McCollum</i>	4	100.8*	23.7	29.3
Tosado	2	29.7	79.0*	38.0
Ash	7	17.7*	43.7*	77.3
Conway	3	25.4*	15.8*	54.2
Bernard	5	11.1*	24.0*	41.5

* African American candidates in ***bold italicized*** letters.
Hispanic candidates in **bold** letters.

TABLE 5

Springfield School Committee Election 2001**Estimated Divisions in Candidate Preferences**

<u>Candidate*</u> <u>Rank</u>		<u>Percent of African</u> <u>American Voters</u>	<u>Percent of</u> <u>Latino Voters</u>	<u>Percent of</u> <u>Non-Minority</u>
<i>Hurst</i>	3	103.6*	18.5*	42.9
<i>Parker</i>	5	57.8*	12.4	13.0
Fyntrilakis	1	23.1*	44.2*	66.6
Shea	2	19.6*	27.9*	63.6
Rodgers	4	0.8*	31.1*	49.5

*African American candidates in ***bold italicized*** letters.

TABLE 6

Springfield School Committee Election 2003

Estimated Divisions in Candidate Preferences

<u>Candidate*</u> <u>Rank</u>		<u>Percent of African</u> <u>American Voters</u>	<u>Percent of</u> <u>Latino Voters</u>	<u>Percent of</u> <u>White Voters</u>
<i>McCollum</i>	4	92.3*	8.1*	34.4
Davila	6	12.5	64.8*	8.6
Ashe	1	33.1*	34.7*	69.1
Murphy	2	29.9*	28.3*	50.9
Pepe	3	35.8*	17.4*	48.9
Rodgers	5	5.6*	14.7*	41.4

*African American candidates in ***bold italicized*** letters.
Hispanic candidates in **bold** letters.

APPENDIX

VITA
May, 2005

RICHARD L. ENGSTROM
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Endowed Professor of Africana Studies
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PERSONAL AND EMPLOYMENT INFORMATION

Born May 23, 1946. Married to former Carol L. Verheek. Four children: Richard Neal, bom 3/10/70; Mark Andrew, born 1/14/73; Brad Alan, born 3/31/77; and Amy Min, bom 8/18/84.

Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of New Orleans, 1971-74; Associate Professor, 1974-1979; Professor, 1979-present; Research Professor, 1987-present, Endowed Professor of Africana Studies, 2003-2006.

Chairperson, Department of Political Science, University of New Orleans, 1976-1979. Coordinator of Graduate Studies, 1990-1992, 1993-present.

Fulbright-Hays Professor, National Taiwan University and National Chengchi University, and Visiting Research Fellow, Institute of American Culture, Academic Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, R.O.C., 1981-82.

Fulbright-Hays Professor, University College, Galway, Ireland, 1985-86.

Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Irish Studies, the Queen's University of Belfast, 1990.

David Bruce Fellow, Bruce Centre for American Studies, University of Keele, England, 1993.

Visiting Fellow, School of Politics, Australian Defence Force Academy, Canberra, Australia, 1998.

Program Visitor, Political Science Program, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia, June-July, 2005.

Recipient, UNO Alumni Association's Career Distinction Award for Excellence in Research, December 1985.

Recipient, George W. Lucas Community Service Award, New Orleans NAACP, 1993.

FORMAL EDUCATION

Ph.D., University of Kentucky, 1971

M.A., University of Kentucky, 1969

A.B., Hope College (Holland, Michigan), 1968.
(recipient of Class of '65 Political Science Award, 1968.

PRIMARY TEACHING FIELDS

Election Systems, Urban and Minority Politics, Legislative Process, American Politics.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Member, Election Review Committee, American Political Science Association, 2003-2004.

Chair, Section on Representation and Electoral Systems, American Political Science Association, 1993-95, 95-97. Section Board, 1993-present.

Book review editor, American Review of Politics, 1995-present.

Lecture tour, under sponsorship of United States Information Agency, of Tanzania, Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi, and Liberia, January, 1994. Topics include, among others, comparative election systems, legislatures within democratic regimes, and race and gender in contemporary politics.

Associate Member, Centre for the Study of Irish Elections, University College Galway.

Member, Board of Editors, Public Administration Quarterly 1977- present.

Member, Editorial Board, Journal of Politics, 1988-1993.

Member, Board of Editors, State and Local Government Review, 1988- 1990.

Member, Committee on the Status of Blacks, Southern Political Science Association, 1991-1996.

Treasurer, Southwestern Political Science Association, 1981 (position resigned during term due to Fulbright Lectureship).

Chair, Harold D. Lasswell Award Committee, American Political Science Association, 1995-1996 (best dissertation in public policy).

Chair, Ted Robinson Award Committee, Southwestern Political Science Association, 1995-1996 (best research project in minority politics by a graduate student).

Member, Nominating Committees, Southern Political Science Association, 1980; Louisiana Political Science Association, 1981, Study Group on Comparative Representation and Electoral Systems, International Political Science Association, 1988, Section on Representation and Electoral Systems, American Political Science Association, 1999.

Member, Chastain Award Committee, Southern Political Science Association, 1978. V.O. Key Award Committee, Southern Political Science Association, 1990. Ted Robinson Memorial Award Committee, Southwestern Political Science Association, 1995, 1996 (chair). Hallett Award Committee, Section on Representation and Electoral Systems, American Political Science Association, 1999, 2000.

Member, Program Committee (Urban Politics Section), 1976 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Program Committee (Urban Politics Section), 1992 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Program Committee (Representation and Electoral Systems Section), 1994 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Program Committee (Representation and Electoral Systems Section), 2002 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Member, Membership Committee, Southwestern Social Science Association, 1973-74.

Presented papers at meetings of the American Political Science Association, International Political Science Association, Midwest Political Science Association, Southern Political Science Association, Southwestern Political Science Association, Louisiana Political Science Association, Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics, International Society of Political Psychology, Harvard University Computer Graphics Week, Australian-New Zealand Academy for the Advancement of Science. Formal papers also presented at programs at Tulane University, Sangamon State University, University of Keele (England), and Rice University.

Chaired panels at meetings of the American Political Science Association, Southern Political Science Association, Midwest Political Science Association, Southwestern Political Science Association, and International Political Science Association.

Served as discussant for panels at meetings of the American Political Science Association, the Southern Political Science Association; Southwestern Social Science Association; Louisiana Political Science Association; Institute of American Culture, Academic Sinica (Taiwan), and International Political Science Association.

Reviewed manuscripts for the American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Politics, Political Research Quarterly, Polity, Social Science Quarterly, Legislative Studies Quarterly, American Politics Quarterly, Urban Affairs Review, Electoral Studies, National Political Science Review, Women and Politics, Southeastern Political Review, State and Local Government Review, Public Administration Quarterly, American Review of Politics, Presidential Studies Quarterly, Journal of Policy History, Howard University Press, and Stanford University Press.

Recipient of grant from Pacific Cultural Foundation, Taipei, Taiwan to support project entitled "The Legislative Yuan: A Study of Legislative Adaptation" (1982).

Recipient of grant from private sources, New Orleans, to support a study of mayoral tenure in large American cities (1983).

Recipient of grant from Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, to conduct exit poll of cumulative voting election in Chilton County, Alabama (1992).

Recipient of grants from Louisiana Education Quality Support Fund, Fellowship Funding for Superior Graduate Students, 1992 (1993-1997) \$48,000; 1996 (1997-2001) \$64,000; 1997 (1998-2002) \$48,000; 1998 (1999-2003) \$56,000.

Reviewed grant proposals for National Science Foundation programs in Political Science and Law and Social Sciences, and National Science Foundation graduate fellowship applications for the National Research Council.

Served as mentor in Southern Regional Council's Voting Rights Fellowship Program to Jason F. Kirksey, 1992-1993, and Dr. Olethia Davis, 1993-1994.

United Nations Consultant on Election Systems and Constituency Delimitation, National Election Commission of Liberia, UN Mission in Liberia, 2004.

COMMUNITY AND UNIVERSITY SERVICE

Consultant, Charter Task Force Committee, New Orleans, 2000. Preparation of Term Limits: A Report to the Charter Task Force Committee, February, 2000.

Interviewed on term limits issue on "Crescent City Close Up," public affairs program on three radio stations, WNOE, KKND, and KUMX, March 19, 2000.

Participant, Roundtable on At-Large Elections for the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN), sponsored by Common Cause, the Center for Democracy and Technology, and the Markle Foundation, at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, February 9, 2000.

Member, Board of Directors, Concern International Charities, 1998-2003.

Chairperson, Taskforce on Civil Service, Mayor-Elect Ernest Morial's Transition Office (New Orleans), 1977-78.

Member, Chachere Subcommittee of UNO Diversity Cabinet, 2003-2004.

Member, Graduate Council, UNO, 1975-76, 1994-95.

Member, Research Council, UNO, 1995-97, 2005 - present.

Member, International Student Recruitment Committee, UNO, 1993-96.

Chairperson, Search Committee for Vice Chancellor for Research and Graduate Studies and Dean of the Graduate School, UNO, 1987-88.

Chairperson, Search Committee for Graduate Dean, UNO, 1978-79.

Member, University Budget Committee, UNO, 1983-84.

Member, Liberal Arts Advisory Committee, UNO, 1975-76, 1982-84.

Member, Academic Planning Committee, UNO, 1982-1988.

Member, Faculty Council Committee on Faculty Honors, UNO, 1985-1990.

Member, Committee on Research, UNO Self-Study, 1972-73; 1982-83.

Member, Dean's Advisory Committee on Academic Planning, College of Liberal Arts, UNO, 1983-84.

Member, University Senate, UNO, 1975-77; 1980-81; 83-85; 87-91.

Member, Steering Committee, Legal Division, New Orleans Chapter, American Foundation for Negro Affairs, 1977-79.

Service as expert witness in numerous vote dilution cases in federal courts. Employed by the United States Department of Justice, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Center for Constitutional Rights, Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund; Native American Rights Fund, and other organizations. Served as court-appointed expert for the remedial portion of Williams v. City of Dallas, United States District Court for the Northern District of Texas, Dallas Division, 1991. Service as Special Master for the remedial portion of Harper v. City of Chicago Heights, United States District Court for the Northern District of Illinois, Eastern Division, 2002-2004.

INVITED LECTURES (Since 1986)

1986: McGee College, University of Ulster - "The Reagan Elections: Realignment or Dealignment?" and "The Contemporary Voting Rights Issue in American Politics"

The Queen's University of Belfast - "The Reagan Elections: Realignment or Dealignment?" and "The Contemporary Voting Rights Issue in American Politics"

University of Keele - "The Contemporary Voting Rights Issue in American Politics"

University College Dublin - "The Contemporary Voting Rights Issue in American Politics" (4/30/86).

University College Galway - "The Reagan Elections: Realignment or Dealignment?"

1987: Southern University - "The Equal Protection Clause and Electoral Reapportionment" (4/8/87).

APSA Summer Institute for Black Students, Louisiana State University - "The Political Scientist as Expert Witness" (7/26/87).

NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Conference on Voting Rights, San Antonio, Texas - "Cumulative and Limited Voting as Remedies for Minority Vote Dilution."

1988: College of William and Mary - "The Contemporary Voting Rights Issue" and "The Role of Social Scientists in Voting Rights Litigation"

University of Queensland - "One Vote, One Value: The U.S. Experience After 25 Years" (5/24/88).

Griffith University (Brisbane) - "One Vote, One Value: The U.S. Experience After 25 Years" (5/25/88).

1989: Tulane University - "Frontiers of Voting Rights: Vote Dilution in Judicial Elections" (3/9/89).

Lamar University - "Voting Rights: A Retrospective" (10/30/89).

Oklahoma State University - "Frontiers of Voting Rights" (November/10/89).

Prairie View A and M University - "Reapportionment and Black Political Power" (11/16/89).

1990: The Queen's University of Belfast-Institute of Irish Studies, "The Irish Election System: Manipulation and Reform" (3/13/90); Department of Politics, "The Reagan Presidency: An Assessment" (3/8/90).

Brookings Institution - "Social Scientists and the Voting Rights Act" (10/19/90).

Lyndon Baines Johnson Library (Austin, Texas) - "The Evolution of the Voting Rights Act of 1965" (10/29/90).

1991: University of Texas at Dallas - "Redistricting the Dallas City Council" (3/8/91).
United States Department of Justice, Voting Section - "Alternative Election Systems" (3/15/91).
Stetson University School of Law - "Alternative Election Systems as Remedies for Minority Vote Dilution" (4/27/91).

Norfolk State University - "Election Analyses in Voting Rights Litigation" (6/15/91).

1992: University of Colorado, Summer Workshop in Urban Politics - "Race and Voting in Judicial Elections: New Orleans as a Case Study Setting" (7/9/91).

Harold Washington College, Chicago - "Political Science Research and Testimony in the Miami-Dade County Core" (9/5/92 - not presented to illness).

Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia - "Exit Polls and Voting Rights Litigation" (10/2/92).

1994: Lecture tour of Tanzania, Ethiopia, Malawi, and Liberia for United States Information Agency, January, 1994.

National Conference of State Legislators, Annual Meeting, New Orleans - "Redistricting and the Courts" (7/26/94)

1995: Department of International Politics, Peking University, "Constitutional Law, Comparative Electoral Systems, and the Politics of Race and Gender" (10/17/95).

1997: John D. Lees Memorial Lecture, Keynote Address, 1997 Annual Meeting of the American Politics Group, (United Kingdom) Political Science Association, Keele, England, "Affirmative Action: The Election and the Election System" (1/3/97).

Alumni College, College of Liberal Arts, University of New Orleans, "Racial Gerrymandering in the 1990s: The Issues and the Alternatives" (2/1/97).

Commission on Governmental Reorganization, City of New Orleans, "Principles for Governmental Organization" (9/23/97).

Civil Rights Training Institute (Airlie Conference), NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, "Alternative Election Systems in the Post-Shaw Era" (11/8/97).

1998

School of Politics, Australian Defence Force Academy, Canberra, "Racial Gerrymandering in the United States" (4/1/98) and "Election Systems and Minority Representation in the United States: Racial Gerrymandering and Its Aftermath" (5/29/98).

School of Political Science, University of New South Wales, Sydney, "Election Systems and Minority Representation in the United States: Racial Gerrymandering and Its Aftermath" (4/8/98).

Illinois Secretary of State's Commission on Redistricting, Chicago, IL, "Computer Generated Districting Plans: Necessary Conditions and Tie Breaking Criteria" (12/16/98).

2001

Carinthian Institute of Minority Affairs, Villach, Austria, "Spiders, Earmuffs, and the Mark of Zorro: Creating Electoral Opportunities for Minorities in America's Single Member District System" (5/5/01).

Bureau of Governmental Research, New Orleans, LA, "The Mayor: How Many Terms?" (10/10/01).

2002

Pomona College, Claremont, CA, "Spiders, Earmuffs, and the Mark of Zorro: There Must be a Better Way" (3/13/02).

Utah State University, "The Redistricting Thicket: Are There Alternatives?" Bennion Teachers' Workshop (8/9/02).

Utah State University, "Missing the Target: Priorities among Districting Constraints," Redistricting in the New Millennium: A Lecture Series, (11/26/02).

2003

Florida State University, "Missing the Target: Priorities among Districting Constraints," (1/21/03).

2004

Cleveland City Club/Cleveland State University, "Metro Reform and Minority Voting Rights," (2/25/04).

Liberian National Election Commission Consultative Assembly, Monrovia, Liberia, "Constituency Boundary Redemarcation: Concepts and Timeframes," (6/7/04).

Numerous other presentations before groups such as the Louisiana Municipal Association; New Orleans League of Women Voters; Public Policy Forums at Southern University in Baton Rouge; Louisiana Municipal Clerks Institute; (La.) Black Legislative Caucus Institute; Robert A. Taft Institute of Government Seminars, Southern University; Special Committee on Elective Law and Voter Participation, American Bar Association; Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Law, United States House of Representatives Committee on the Judiciary; Institute of American Culture, Academic Sinica (Taiwan), Foundation for Scholarly Exchange (Taiwan), and Tulane University, Department of Political Science and College of Law College of Law.

REFERENCES

Dr. Charles Barrilleaux, Department of Political Science, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL 32306 904-644-7643

Dr. Robert E. Darcy, Department of Political Science, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, OK 74074 405-744-5641

Dr. Charles D. Hadley, Chair, Department of Political Science, University of New Orleans, New Orleans, LA 70148 504-280-6456

Dr. Susan Howell, former Chair, Department of Political Science, University of New Orleans, New Orleans, LA 70148 504-280-6467

Dr. Michael D. McDonald, Department of Political Science, State University of New York at Binghamton, Binghamton, NY 13901 607-777-4563

CURRENT RESEARCH

"Louisiana's Double Ballot System," to be presented at a conference on "Plurality and Multi-Round Elections," Montreal, May or June, 2006. Conference organizers are Andre Blais, Shaun Bowler, and Bernard Grofman.

"Districting by Independent Commissions: Lessons from Australia." To be completed Summer, 2005.

LATEST CONFERENCE PAPER

"Influence District: A Concept in Need of Clarity," presented at the Conference on "Lessons from the Past, Prospects for the Future: Honoring the Fortieth Anniversary of the Voting Rights Act of 1965," Center for the Study of American Politics, Yale University, April 21-23, 2005, to be included in volume or symposium edited by Khalilah L. Brown-Dean.

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

Fair and Effective Representation? Debating Electoral Reform and Minority Rights (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001) (with Mark A. Rush).

MONOGRAPHS

Home Rule for Louisiana Parishes (Baton Rouge: Police Jury Association of Louisiana and Governmental Services Institute, Louisiana State University, 1974).

Municipal Home Rule in Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Municipal Association and Governmental Services Institute, Louisiana State University, 1974).

Municipal Government Within the 1974 Louisiana Constitution: A Reference Guide for Municipal Officials (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Municipal Association and Governmental Services Institute, Louisiana State University, 1975).

Louisiana Mayor's Handbook (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Municipal Association and Governmental Services Institute, Louisiana State University, 1977), (with Edward Clynych and Konrad Kressley).

Mayoral Tenure in Large American Cities (New Orleans: School of Urban and Regional Studies, University of New Orleans, 1983).

ARTICLES, RESEARCH NOTES, AND BOOK CHAPTERS

"Statutory Restraints on Administrative Lobbying -- 'Legal Fiction'", Journal of Public Law. Vol. 19, No. 1 (1970), 90-103 (with Thomas G. Walker). Reprinted in Dennis Ippolito and Thomas Walker (eds.), Reform and Responsiveness: Readings in American Politics (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1972), pp. 428-438.

"Race and Compliance: Differential Political Socialization," Polity, 3 (Fall 1970), 100-111. Reprinted in Charles S. Bullock, III, and Harrell Rogers, Jr. (eds.), Black Political Attitudes: Implications for Political Support (Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1972), pp. 33-44.

"Political Ambitions and the Prosecutorial Office," Journal of Politics, 33 (February 1971), 190-194.

"Life-Style and Fringe Attitudes Toward the Political Integration of Urban Governments," Midwest Journal of Political Science 15 (August 1971), 475-494 (with W.E. Lyons).

"Expectations and Images: A Note on Diffuse Support for Legal Institutions," *Law and Society Review*. 6 (May 1972), 631-636 (with Michael W. Giles).

"Black Control or Consolidation: The Fringe Response," *Social Science Quarterly*, 53 (June 1972), 161-167 (with W.E. Lyons).

"Life-Style and Fringe Attitudes Toward the Political Integration of Urban Governments: A Comparison of Survey Findings," *American Journal of Political Science*. 17 (February 1973), 182-188 (with W. W. E. Lyons).

"Racial Gerrymandering and Southern State Legislative Redistricting: Attorney General Determinations Under the Voting Rights Act," *Journal of Public Law*. Vol. 22, No. 1 (1973), 37-66 (with Stanley A. Halpin, Jr.).

"Socio-Political Cross Pressures and Attitudes Toward Political Integration of Urban Governments," *Journal of Politics*. 35 (August 1973), 682-711 (with W.E. Lyons).

"Candidate Attraction to the Politicized Councilmanic Office: A Note on New Orleans," *Social Science Quarterly*, 55 (March 1975), 975-982 (with James N. Pezant).

"Home Rule in Louisiana — Could This Be The Promised Land?," *Louisiana History*. 17 (Fall 1976), 431-455.

"Judicial Activism and the Problem of Gerrymandering," in Randall B. Ripley and Grace A. Franklin (eds.), *National Government and Public Policy in the United States* (Itasca, IL: Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1977), pp. 239-244.

"The Supreme Court and Equi-Populous Gerrymandering: A Remaining Obstacle in the Quest for Fair and Effective Representation," *Arizona State Law Journal*. Vol. 1976, No. 2 (1977), 277-319. Cited extensively in *Karcher v. Daggett*, _____ U.S. _____ (1983) (by J. Stevens, concurring, and J. White, dissenting).

"State Centralization Versus Home Rule: A Note on Ambition Theory's Powers Proposition," *Western Political Quarterly* 30 (June 1977), 288-294 (with Patrick F. O'Connor).

"Pruning Thorns from the Thicket: An Empirical Test of the Existence of Racial Gerrymandering," *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 2 (November 1977) 465-479 (with John K. Wildgen). Cited extensively in *Thornburg v. Gingles*, _____ U.S. _____ (1986) (by J. Brennan).

"Racial Vote Dilution: Supreme Court Interpretations of Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act," *Southern University Law Review*. 4 (Spring 1978), 139-164.

"The Political Behavior of Lawyers in the Louisiana House of Representatives," *Louisiana Law Review* 39 (Fall 1978), 43-79 (with Patrick F. O'Connor, Justin J. Green, and Chong Lim Kim).

"Restructuring the Regime: Support for Change Within the Louisiana Constitutional Convention," *Polity* 11 (Spring 1979), 440-451 with Patrick F. O'Connor).

"The Hale Boggs Gerrymander: Congressional Redistricting, 1969," *Louisiana History*. 21 (Winter 1980), 59-66.

"Lawyer-Legislators and Support for State Legislative Reform," *Journal of Politics*. 42 (February 1980), 267-276 (with Patrick F. O'Connor).

"Racial Discrimination in the Electoral Process: The Voting Rights Act and the Vote Dilution Issue," in Robert P. Steed, Lawrence W. Moreland, and Tod A. Baker, (eds.), *Party Politics in the South* (New York: Praeger Publishing, 1980), pp. 197-213.

"Spatial Distribution of Partisan Support and the Seats/Votes Relationship," *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 5 (August 1980), 423- 435 (with John K. Wildgen).

"Computer Graphics and Political Cartography: ASPEX of Gerrymandering," in *Computer Mapping Applications in Urban, State, and Federal Government. Plus Computer Graphics in Education*. Vol. 16, Harvard Library of Computer Graphics, 1981 Mapping Collection (Cambridge, Mass.: Laboratory for Computer Graphics and Spatial Analysis, Harvard University, 1981), pp. 51-57 (with John K. Wildgen).

"The Election of Blacks to City Councils: Clarifying the Impact of Electoral Arrangements on the Seats/Population Relationship," *American Political Science Review*. 75 (June 1981), 344-354 (with Michael D. McDonald).

"Post-Census Representational Districting: The Supreme Court, 'One Person, One Vote,' and the Gerrymandering Issue," *Southern University Law Review*. 7 (Spring 1981), 173-226.

"Municipal Government," in James Bolner (ed.), *Louisiana Politics: Festival in a Labyrinth* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), pp. 181-219.

"The 1980 Election and the Realignment Thesis: A Note of Caution," *American Studies* (Mei-kuo-Yen-chiu), 12 (June 1982), 107-132.

"Racial Vote Dilution and the 'New' Equal Protection Clause: *City of Mobile v. Bolden*," *American Studies* (Mei-kuo-Yen-chiu) 12 (September 1982), 25-72.

"The Underrepresentation of Blacks on City Councils: Comparing the Structural and Socioeconomic Explanations for South/Non-South Differences," *Journal of Politics*. 44 (November 1982), 1088-1099 (with Michael D. McDonald).

"The Impact of the 1980 Supplementary Election on Nationalist China's Legislative Yuan," *Asian Survey*. 24 (April 1984), 447-458 (with Chu Chi-hung).

"The Marginality Hypothesis and the State Legislative Salary Issue," *Southeastern Political Review*. 13 (Spring 1985), 169-182 (with Patrick F. O'Connor).

"Racial Vote Dilution: The Concept and the Court," in Lorn Foster (ed.), *The Voting Rights Act: Consequences and Implications* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1985), pp. 13-43.

"Quantitative Evidence in Vote Dilution Litigation: Political Participation and Polarized Voting," *The Urban Lawyer*, 17 (Summer 1985), 369-377 (with Michael D. McDonald). Cited in *Thornburg v. Gingles*, _____ U.S. _____ (1986) (by J. Brennan).

"The Reincarnation of the Intent Standard: Federal Judges and At- Large Election Cases," *Howard Law Journal* 28 (No 2, 1985), 495-513. Cited in *Thornburg v. Gingles*, _____ U.S. _____ (1986) (by J. Brennan). Abbreviated version appeared in *Focus* (June, 1985). (*Focus* is a monthly publication of the Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington, D.C.).

"The Effect of At-Large Versus District Elections on Racial Representation in U.S. Municipalities," in Bernard Grofman and Arend Lijphart (eds.), *Electoral Laws and Their Political Consequences* (New York: Agathon Press, Inc., 1986), pp. 203-225 (with Michael D. McDonald).

"Repairing the Crack in New Orleans' Black Vote: VRA's Results Test Nullifies 'Gerryduck'," *Publius* 16 (Fall 1986), 109-121. Reprinted in Glenn R. Conrad (ed.), *The African American Experience in Louisiana: From Jim Crow to Civil Rights* (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, forthcoming).

"Quantitative Evidence in Vote Dilution Litigation, Part II: Minority Coalitions and Multivariate Analysis," *Urban Lawyer* 19 (Winter 1987), 65-75 (with Michael D. McDonald).

"District Magnitudes and the Election of Women to the Irish Dail," *Electoral Studies*. 6 (August 1987), 123-132.

"The Election of Blacks to Southern City Councils: The Dominant Impact of Electoral Arrangements," in Robert P. Steed, Laurence W. Moreland, and Tod A. Baker (eds.) *Blacks in Southern Politics* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1987), pp. 245-258 (with Michael D. McDonald).

"Race, Referendums, and Rolloff," *Journal of Politics* 49 (November 1987), 1081-1092 (with Jim M. Vanderleeuw).

"Definitions, Measurements, and Statistics: Weeding Wildgen's Thicket," *Urban Lawyer* 20 (Winter 1988), 175-191 (with Michael D. McDonald).

"The Desirability Hypotheses and the Election of Women to City Councils," *State and Local Government Review* 20 (Winter 1988), 38-40 (with Michael D. McDonald and Bih-Er Chou).

"Black Politics and the Voting Rights Act(s): 1965-1982," in James Lea (ed.), *Contemporary Southern Politics: Continuity and Change* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), pp. 83-106.

"Race and Representational Districting: Protections Against Delineational and Institutional Gerrymandering," *Comparative State Politics Newsletter* 9 (October 1988), 15-24.

"Cumulative Voting as a Remedy for Minority Vote Dilution: The Case of Alamogordo, New Mexico," *Journal of Law and Politics* 5 (Spring 1989), 469-497 (with Delbert A. Taebel and Richard L. Cole). Reprinted in Roger L. Kemp, (ed.), *Local Government Election Practices: A Handbook for Public Officials and Citizens* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 1999), 372-391.

"When Blacks Run for Judge: Racial Divisions in the Candidate Preferences of Louisiana Voters," *Judicature* 73 (August-September 1989), 87-89.

"Detecting Gerrymandering," in Bernard Grofman (ed.), *Political Gerrymandering and the Courts* (New York: Agathon Press, Inc., 1990), pp. 178-202 (with Michael D. McDonald).

"Cumulative Voting in a Municipal Election: A Note on Voter Reactions and Electoral Consequences," *Western Political Quarterly*, 43 (March 1990), 191-199 (with Richard L. Cole and Delbert A. Taebel).

"Alternative Electoral Systems as Remedies for Minority Vote Dilution," *Hamline Journal of Public Law and Policy* 11 (Spring 1990), 19-29 (with Delbert A. Taebel and Richard L. Cole). Cited in *Holder v. Hall*, _____ U.S. _____ (1994), (by J. Thomas, concurring).

"Cincinnati's 1988 Proportional Representation Initiative," *Electoral Studies* 9 (September 1990), 217-225.

"Getting the Numbers Right: A Response to Wildgen," *Urban Lawyer* 22 (Summer 1990), 495-502.

"Native Americans and Cumulative Voting: The Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux," *Social Science Quarterly* 72 (June 1991), 388-393 (with Charles J. Barrilleaux).

"Proportional Representation Considered in Cincinnati," *Representation* 30 (Spring 1991), 3-5.

"Voting for Judges: Race and Roll-Off in Judicial Elections," in William Crotty (ed.), *Political Participation and Democratic Politics* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), pp. 171-191 (with Victoria M. Caridas).

"Minority Representation and Councilmanic Election Systems: A Black and Hispanic Comparison," in Anthony Messina, Laurie Rhodebeck, Frederick Wright, and Luis R. Fraga, (eds.), *Ethnic and Racial Minorities in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992), pp. 127-142 (with Michael D. McDonald).

"Alternative Judicial Election Systems: Solving the Minority Vote Dilution Problem," in Wilma Rule and Joseph F. Zimmerman (eds.), *United States Electoral Systems: Their Impact on Women and Minorities* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992), pp. 129-139.

"Modified Multi-Seat Election Systems as Remedies for Minority Vote Dilution," *Stetson Law Review* 21 (Summer 1992), 743-770.

"Councilmanic Redistricting Conflicts: The Dallas Experience," *Urban News* 6 (Fall 1992), 1,4-8.

"The Single Transferable Vote: An Alternative Remedy for Minority Vote Dilution," *University of San Francisco Law Review* 27 (Summer, 1993), 781-813. Excerpt reprinted in *Voting and Democracy Report, 1993* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Voting and Democracy, 1993).

"'Enhancing' Factors in At-Large Plurality and Majority Systems: A Reconsideration," *Electoral Studies* 12 (December 1993), 385-401 (with Michael D. McDonald).

"Louisiana," in Chandler Davidson and Bernard Grofman (eds.), *The Quiet Revolution: Minority Voting Rights and Representation in the South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 103-135, 413-417 (with Stanley A. Halpin, Jean A. Hill, and Victoria M. Caridas-Butterworth).

"The Voting Rights Act: Disfranchisement, Dilution, and Alternative Election Systems," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 27 (December 1994), 685-688.

"The 1994 New Orleans Mayoral Election: Racial Divisions Continue," *Urban News* 9 (Spring 1995), 6-9 (with Willie D. Kirkland).

"Shaw v. Reno and New Election Systems: The Cumulative Voting Alternative," *Voting Rights Review* (Spring 1995), 10, 12 (with Jason F. Kirksey and Edward Still) [excerpt reprinted in *Voting and Democracy Report, 1995* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Voting and Democracy, 1995), 67-68].

"Voting Rights Districts: Debunking the Myths," *Campaigns and Elections* (April 1995), 24, 46.

"Shaw. Miller, and the Districting Thicket," National Civic Review. 84 (Fall-Winter 1995), 323-336. Reprinted as "The Supreme Court on Redistricting" in Roger L. Kemp, (ed.), Local Government Election Practices: A Handbook for Public Officials and Citizens (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., Inc., 1999), 80-92.

"Local Redistricting Under the Voting Rights Act," Communities and the Voting Rights Act: A Guide to Compliance in These Changing Times (Denver: National Civic League, Inc., 1996), 69-82.

"One Person, Seven Votes: The Cumulative Voting Experience in Chilton County, Alabama," in Anthony Peacock, (ed.), Affirmative Action and Representation: Shaw v. Reno and the Future of Voting Rights (Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 1997), pp. 285-313 (with Jason Kirksey and Edward Still).

"Limited and Cumulative Voting in Alabama: An Assessment After Two Rounds of Elections," National Political Science Review, Vol. 6 Race and Representation (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1997), 180-191 (with Jason F. Kirksey and Ed Still).

"Cumulative Voting and Latino Representation: Exit Surveys in Fifteen Texas Communities," Social Science Quarterly 78 (December 1997), 973-991 (with Robert R. Brischetto).

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